Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

# Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MAPUTO 00903 121955Z

62
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-13 /080 W
---------- 104522
R 121500Z AUG 76
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4895
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY MBABANE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUTO 0903

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGEN, PINS, MILI, PINT, MZ
SUBJ: MOZAMBIQUE ASSESSMENT (2): INTERNAL STABILITY AND DISSIDENCE

REF: MAPUTO 0866

1. SUMMARY: DESPITE REPORTS OF DISSIDENCE IN THE NORTH AMONG THE MAKONDES AND THE MUTINY OF AN ARMY BATTALION IN DECEMBER 1975, THE GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE IN FORM CONTROL THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE THREE CLANDESTINE OPPOSITION ORGANIZATIONS THWT HAVE SURFACED SINCE INDEPENDENCE DO NOT POSE A THREAT TO THE REGIME. HOWEVER, SOME OF THE ENTHUSIASM FOR THE REGIME HAS WANED AS A RESULT OF ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS, RISING UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CONTINUED TRIBAL IMBALANCE AND POOR PAY IN THE MILITARY AND GOVERNMENT. THE KEY TO FUTURE STABILITY WILL DEPEND UPON THE ARMY WHICH FOR THE MOMENT APPEARS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MAPUTO 00903 121955Z

TO BE LOYAL TO PRESIDENT MACHEL.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

2. IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT THE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT
IS MORE FIRMLY IN CONTROL TODAY THAN IT WAS A YEAR AGO.
WHEREAS ARMED TROOPS WERE ONCE CONSPICIOUS ON THE STREETS
OF MAJOR CITIES AND AT ROAD BLOCKS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY,
TODAY THE MILITARY AND POLICE ARE LESS IN EVIDENCE AND
ROAD BLOCKS ARE RARE. PRESIDENT MACHEL AND SENIOR GOVERN-
MENT OFFICIALS TRAVEL WITH A MINIMUM OF SECURITY PROTECTION
AND MINGLE FREELY WITH CROWDS. THE PRESIDENT APPEARS TO HAVE
NO HESITANCY ABOUT LEAVING THE COUNTRY. THE IMPRESSION
GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT IS ONE OF CONFIDENCE IN ITS OWN
SECURITY.

3. REPORTS OF REGIONAL AND TRIBAL DISSIDENCE, HOWEVER,
PERSIST. THE MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED TROUBLE SPOT IS
THE NORTHERNMOST PROVICE OF CABO DELGADO. THERE, MAKONDE
TRIBESMEN ARE SAID TO BE OPENLY VOICING THEIR
OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT. SPORADIC REPORTS OF
OPPOSITION HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN THE MACUA-DOMINATED
AREA BETWEEN QUELIMANE AND NACALA, IN NYASSA PROVINCE
IN THE NORTHWEST, AND AROUND THE SOUTHERN COASTAL TOWN
OF INHAMZANE.

4. RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR US TO ASSESS
WHAT IS HAPPENING OUTSIDE MAPUTO. NO DOUBT, THERE IS
SOME RURAL DISGRUNTLEMENT AND UNHAPPINESS WITH FRELIMO,
BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS NEITHER AS WIDESPREAD NOR AS DIS-
RUPTIVE AS THE RUMORS, MANY OF WHICH ORIGINATE IN SOUTH
AFRICA AND RHODESIA, SUGGEST. UN OFFICIALS WHO TRAVEL
WIDELY THROUGHOUT THE NORTHERN PROVINCES CONTEND THAT
MACHEL AND HIS PARTY CONTINUE TO ENJOY WIDESPREAD POPULARITY.
THEY ALSO NOTE THAT IN MANY NORTHERN AREAS THERE IS
VIRTUALLY NO MILITARY PRESENCE TO BE SEEN, AN OBSERVATION
LIKEWISE NOTED BY AN EMBASSY OFFICER WHO PAID A BRIEF
VISIT TO BEIRA AND QUEIMANE IN JULY.

5. THREE CLANDESTINE OPPOSITION GROUPS ARE KNOWN TO EXIST:
THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF MOZAMBIQUE (FUMO), MAGAIA
AND THE CABO DELGADO FRONT. ALL THREE GROUPS ARE BE-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MAPUTO 00903 121955Z

LIEVED TO BE SMALL AND POORLY ORGANIZED. JLTHOUGH ALL
MANAGE TO PUBLISH ANTI-GOVERNMENT BROADSIDES, THEY ARE AT
THE MOMENT NO MORE THAN A MINOR IRRITANT TO
FRELIMO.
J. THE BEST PUBLICIZED OF THE GROUPS IS FUMO.
LED BY DR. DOMINGOS AROUCA, MOZAMBIQUE'S FIRST AFRICAN
LAWYER, FUMO IS MAINLY AN EXILE GROUP WHICH FAVORS
THE CREATION OF A MULTI-RACIAL STATE, A DEMOCRATIC

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

POLITICAL SYSTEM, AND A WESTERN TYPE ECONOMY FOR
MOZAMBIQUE. AROUCA IS CURRENTLY LIVING IN LISBON
AND IS PROBABLY BEING SUPPORTED BY DISAFFECTED PORTUGUESE
FROM MOZAMBIQUE (INCLUDING THE FORMERLY PROMINENT
MOZAMBICAN ENTREPRENEUG JORGE JARDIM). FUMO REPORTEDLY
HAS SOME INTERNAL CLANDESTINE ORGANIZATION AROUND
INHAMBANE AND IN OTHER PARTS OF CENTRAL MOZAMBIQUE.
B. MAGAIA, WHICH TAKES ITS NAME FROM A FRELIMO
COMMANDER FELIPE MAGAIA WHO WAS PURPORTEDLY SLAIN BY
MACHEL, IS SAID TO HAVE SOME SUPPORT IN BEIRA, AND REPORTEDLY
MAS MERGED WITH THE INTERNAL ELEMENTS OF FUMO. BOTH
FUMO AND MAGAIA ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE CONTACT WITH
RHODESIAN INTELLIGENCE.
C. LITTLE IS KNOWN OF THE CABO DELGADO FRONT. WE
BELIEVE IT TO BE ESSENTIALLY A MAKONDE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION
FORMED AS A RESULT OF MAKONDE GRIEVANCES AGAINST FRELIMO.
LAZARO KAVANDAMEJN A MAKONDE CHIEF AND FORMER SENIOR
FRELIMO MAN WHO DEFECTED TO THE PORTUGUESE, WAS IM-
PRISONED BY FRELIMO, AND ALLEGEDLY ESCAPED, IS
RUMORED TO HEAD THE CABO DELGADO FRONT. PRESIDENT
MACHEL'S TWO WEEK TOUR THROUGH CABO DELGADO PROVINCE IN AUGUST
1976 INDIATES THAT GPRM RECOGNIZES THE NEED TO PAY
SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE MAKONDE, BUT AT THE SAME TIME
DEMONSTRATES THE GOVERNMENT'S CONTROL OVER THE AREA.

6. A NEW SOURCE OF OPPOSITION RECENTLY CAME TO LIGHT
AS A RESULT OF THE JUNE 26 RHODESIAN RAID ON THE MO-
ZAMBICAN VILLAGE OF MAPAI. ACCORDING TO BOTH RHODESIAN
AND MOZAMBICAN SOURCES, THE RAIDING FORCE WAS MADE UP OF
DISAFFECTED MOZAMBICANS (BLACK AND WHITE), SOME OF WHOM
HAD FORMERLY SERVED IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL ARMY.
WITH ARMS AND ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE RHODESIAN GOVERN-
MENT, THE FORCE, EVEN THOUGH SMALL, COULD PROVE A
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MAPUTO 00903 121955Z

HIT-AND-RUN NUISANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE
ALONG THE RHODESIAN BORDER.

7. IN OUR OPINION, THE MOST SERIOUS THREAT TO STABILITY
WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE MOZAMBIQUE ARMY. IN DECEMBER
1975 ONE BATTALION OF THE ARMY REVOLTED OVER ARMY-ORIENTED
GRIEVANCES -- LOW PAY, INADEQUATE FOOD, AND IMPLEMENTATION OF
NEW DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES. ALTHOUGH THE REVOLT WAS
QUICKLY QUASHED, THE POTENTIAL FOR TROUBLE STILL EXISTS,
PARTICULARLY AMONG THE MAKONDE TRIBESMEN WHO DID MOST
OF THE FIGHTING DURING FRELIMO'S TEN YEAR STRUGGLE,
BUT WHO HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY EXCLUDED FROM POST-
INDEPENDENCE POSITIONS OF POWER. IN ADDITION, AS
THE ARMY EXPANDS AND MORE INTELLIGENT, YOUNGER
OFFICERS ASSUME CONTROL, THE PROSPECTS FOR THE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

EMERGENCE OF AN ARMY ELITE WITH IDEAS DIFFERENT
FROM THE OLD-LINE FRELIMO LEADERS IS A POSSIBILITY.
HOWEVER, FOR THE TIME BEING THE ARMY APPEARS TO BE UNDER
THE CONTROL OF MACHEL AND HIS LOYAL LIEUTENANTS.
DE PREE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

# Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994
**Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED
**Concepts:** NATIONAL SECURITY, POLITICAL SITUATION, DISSIDENT FACTIONS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
**Control Number:** n/a
**Copy:** SINGLE
**Draft Date:** 12 AUG 1976
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
**Document Number:** 1976MAPUTO00903
**Document Source:** CORE
**Document Unique ID:** 00
**Drafter:** n/a
**Enclosure:** n/a
**Executive Order:** GS
**Errors:** N/A
**Film Number:** D760310-1310
**From:** MAPUTO
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Image Path:**
**ISecure:** 1
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760861/aaaacatg.tel
**Line Count:** 174
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
**Office:** ACTION AF
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Page Count:** 4
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Reference:** 76 MAPUTO 866
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED
**Review Authority:** CunninFX
**Review Comment:** n/a
**Review Content Flags:**
**Review Date:** 04 MAY 2004
**Review Event:**
**Review Exemptions:** n/a
**Review History:** RELEASED <04 MAY 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <01 SEP 2004 by CunninFX>
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**
**Review Referrals:** n/a
**Review Release Date:** n/a
**Review Release Event:** n/a
**Review Transfer Date:**
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** MOZAMBIQUE ASSESSMENT (2): INTERNAL STABILITY AND DISSIDENCE
**TAGS:** PGOV, PINS, MILI, PINT, MZ
**To:** STATE
**Type:** TE
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006